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Fellowship

DONALD SOPER *Minister*

Close-Up of France, by Roy Kepler

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ff Roy Kepler, a member of FOR, WRL and Peacemakers who was the Executive Secretary of the WRL for a couple of years, has recently returned from eight months in Europe, spent mainly in France, where he was studying on a Fulbright scholarship. His analysis of the situation there appears in "Close-Up of France." . . . The Doukhobors, a much-misunderstood sect of about 20,000 souls living mainly in Canada, are the subject of the next article in FELLOWSHIP's series on the intentional community, this one by Ruth Larson. . . . The appropriate "Invocation to Another Conference," a moving meditation, appears in this September issue, the month of the FOR's annual National Conference. It is by Kermit Eby of the University of Chicago. . . . In this issue is concluded the two-part review and analysis, by A. J. Muste, of Whittaker Chambers' book *Witness*.

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CLOSE-UP OF FRANCE

By ROY KEPLER

FROM THE TIME OF MY ARRIVAL in France last October nothing was impressed upon me more strongly than the impact of American society upon the French. Several weeks after my arrival I went to Bordeaux, a leading provincial city of the Southwest region, a center of the wine industry and a port that has been in commerce with the rest of the world for centuries. Another American and I received an invitation to attend some sessions of a private discussion group consisting chiefly of younger professors from the University of Bordeaux and some of the lower schools of the city. In addition there were several University students. The group was non-Communist and predominantly bourgois in background; its tendency was liberal, anti-capitalist, and neutralist in foreign affairs.

At the first meeting a young professor, who is a pacifist and member of the French FOR, presented a three-hour analysis of U.S. foreign policy. A discussion followed and was in good part directed, in the form of questions, to me and my friend.

The speaker said that U. S. foreign policy is a direct carrying out of James Burnham's thesis for American world domination. After a brief presentation of Burnham's proposals, he supported them with documentary evidence. Obviously the French men and women present found this analysis to their taste; presumably it bolstered their misgivings and feelings with regard to the U. S. Much of the analysis reflected general European Marxist, but not necessarily Communist or Stalinist, assumptions as to the nature of capitalism and capitalist tendencies in world affairs.

As Others See Us

During the discussion the French were sincere and even eager in the process of drawing from me and my friend our reactions to this analysis. They also asked if there were people in the U. S. who would be interested to learn that Frenchmen are deeply concerned about American policies. They asked whether there are Americans who would want to learn what this particular French group thinks and what *its* criticisms are.

A disturbing aspect of the evening's analysis was that it represented intelligent search and study by an honest man; Americans of all opinions would be shocked to see themselves as others sometimes see them. But the analysis was more frightening, it seemed to me and my friend, in its oversimplification. However bad American policy may be, it is not simply a carrying out of Burnham's ideas. The forces that go to make up that policy—or lack of policy—are highly complex and are at present deeply involved with internal political struggles. American policy is a result of the elaborate study and formulation of a George Kennan *and* the demagoguery and bombastics of a McCarthy. It reflects in some part the pressures of such diverse groups as the American Legion, the WCTU, the AFSC, and the National Council of Churches. Part of our effort that night was to explain the variety of currents in America.

In addition to this horrified view of American foreign policy—a view which, with slight variations, is not uncommon in France—the French have an ambivalent attitude toward American society in general. This was illustrated in Bordeaux when the young professor reached a moment of utter frustration which his audience shared with him, when he concluded that perhaps the dynamic force of American ideas and technological methods was too strong to be combated. He sadly conjured up a vision of French culture with all its riches finally acquiescing to "the American Way." Part of the gloom that pervaded the meeting at that moment lay in the partial recognition by each Frenchman of a secret envy and desire to possess the material wealth and the national strength that the U. S. has.

In good part as a result of this French desire and envy, accompanied by a great sense of national weariness, American methods and pressures are affecting all levels of French society. American influence is both subversive and direct. It seduces the youth and either flatters or bullies the elders. It is the juke box in the *brasseries* near the Sorbonne, and dollars to support the franc. From the most basic tools of industry, through the instruments of war, up to nylon

stockings, the American impact on France has to be seen to be appreciated.

The French resist sturdily, but they retreat steadily. The "American Way" both attracts and repels them. But they are weak and uncertain; America is strong and confident.

The interest and curiosity of the French concerning America penetrates most groups, including the French Communists. At least this would seem so from my experience, with two other Americans, when we attended a Communist-organized meeting in Paris. Here it was a matter of an effort to organize neighborhood groups *pour la paix*. It was evident upon our arrival at the meeting that the wall placards of the Communists which can be seen all over France—*Les Americains en Amerique*—are not necessarily to be taken personally. Our reception was friendly; but there were many questions.

Since this was an effort to "unite all people against war in order to impose peace," none of our hosts mentioned the word communism. Being brash young men we brought the matter up ourselves. The meeting, however, was not different in any way from any Communist-manipulated effort; everybody present was urged to sign the Stockholm peace petition if he hadn't already, and a program was hazily sketched for an effort to get signatures for another petition, this time urging a peace pact between the U. S., Russia, and Great Britain.

However wary and guardedly hostile these French Communists were with us, one significant factor was that they sounded remarkably like the other Frenchmen we have met. The American scene repelled but also attracted them. They were curious about Americans and American opinion. They wanted to know whether French students were going to America in exchange for Americans who came to France. They asked what Americans thought about war, and they were disturbed when we tried to explain to them that there is a whole range and variety of opinions.

If those of us who live in the United States could realize just this one factor in international relations today—that the U. S. is a massive symbol, at once a menace and a hope, to Frenchmen and to Europeans—we would be much nearer a clearer understanding of the behavior of other people. For instance, a political factor of first importance in France today is the matter of who will be the next president of the U. S. The French can't vote in the election, but it means more to them and their future than an election for a new Assembly.

German Rearmament

The French wait with fear and horror to see whether the Americans are going to rearm the Germans. The French would like to pull out of the war in Indo-China. It started as an act of colonial prestige; today they cannot afford the luxury of such prestige. But now that war is involved with a world-wide strategy and struggle in which American policy predominates. And so it goes, for the shadow of things American falls on everything, from foreign policy to the introduction of the most inane American advertising methods in the moving picture theatres.

What is needed is a better under-

standing of how differently problems appear when seen through the distortions of different geographical, historical and national positions. I was reminded of this old truth as early as the night of the meeting in Bordeaux. We did not achieve unanimity that night on a description of U. S. foreign policy, but we were awakened to the degree of misunderstanding that exists between ordinary people of good will but of different national background. My friend and I left that meeting realizing how little we knew of the French people and their society, and therefore how little we could help them or they us until some of the gap was closed. I believe the same was true of the French.

Divided Opinions

In attempting to understand French attitudes today with regard to war, a paradox immediately emerges. The French are divided in their opinions at many points. On the question of peace, however, they are almost unanimous: They desire peaceful solutions to world problems. Yet France is carrying on a war in Indo-China, she has troops actively engaged in Korea, and she is host country to NATO.

But no people have ever shown less enthusiasm for a colonial war than have the French for the Indo-Chinese struggle. Similarly the Korean war receives only skeptical moral support and is not uncommonly considered another tragic example of American error in international relations. In short, the present French wars are supported actively by the French Government but not necessarily by the people at large. On the other hand, it would be an error to assume that the Government has imposed these wars upon the people against total opposition. It is a situation where the people have no defense against such involvement, since basically they accept the kind of thinking that led their Government to engage in these struggles. There was, for instance, enough nostalgia for empire and prestige to get the Indo-Chinese war going. Once involved, honor, sacrifice of lives, and now allies, have helped keep the resources of the country involved.

The political crisis in France is so deep at present that no French government is likely to be able to carry out any radically significant program. The French are so divided in their own councils that they have neither the energy nor the will to constitute the much-discussed "third-force." Given these such factors as the force and fascination of America, of commitments already made, of the fact that the French consider France and Western Culture as almost synonymous, and of the acceptance of the philosophy of armed strength, almost inevitably during this period they are going to follow along with the Americans.

French Pacifism

Just what role can or will be taken by pacifists under present conditions is difficult to say. There was a brief flurry of interest in pacifism in 1949 when Garry Davis was demonstrating on behalf of a French conscientious objector. Most of those opportunities seem to have come to little. French pacifism faces two fundamental problems internally before it can cope with wider social issues: 1) its highly

(*Continued on page* 32)

INVOCATION *for another conference*

By KERMIT EBY

Adapted by WERNER BLOOMBERG

Brethren:

We meet today in the potential glare of the hydrogen bomb.
We may see more clearly by it or be blinded.
History will judge us.

The hydrogen bomb is the culminating accomplishment
of the civilization that has professed
Christianity.
Out of Christian Russia came Bolshevism and the Communist State.
Out of Christian Italy came Mussolini and the Fascist State.
Out of Christian Germany came Hitler and the Nazi State.
Out of Christian United States came Hiroshima.
This after nineteen hundred and fifty years.

Need I recall His sermons now?

Underlying the hydrogen bomb is the assumption
—however much we may deny it—
That those who do not believe
cannot be brought into the belief
and therefore must be destroyed before they destroy us;
though we may let them strike the first blow.
—Then do not turn the other cheek, but drop the bomb!
Over the Voice of America we preach Christianity,
but we support gunboats, not missionaries.
This after nineteen hundred and fifty years.

Has America become a more Christian nation
since the early days of the Republic
since Jeffersonian equalitarianism?
We need a sense of history.
What are the trends?

In business
the decline of the small entrepreneur,
the proliferation of the corporate giants,
the denial of any concept of social justice
which suggests a compromise of the principle of profit.

In labor
the decline of the local union,
the proliferation of the giant international,
the rise of a massive monolithic power structure,
the denial of any concept of a loyal opposition that
suggests a compromise of personal power or immediate political success.

In government
the political machine,
the proliferation of lobbying, of the deal,
the decline of the decision-making function
of the lower echelons and the non-office-holding citizen,
and the introduction of fear—the fear of
going to the wrong meeting, of saying
the wrong thing, of having the
wrong friend, of seeing the
wrong people.
These are the trends after nineteen hundred and fifty years.

What, brethren,
of the churches and ministers of God?
How do we stand in the trends
after nineteen hundred and fifty years?
—We organize, we lobby, we pass resolutions.
We preach, we reason, we argue, we persuade.
We write, we publish, we advertise.
And then we get the hydrogen bomb.
Perhaps we are doing something wrong.
Perhaps we are not doing enough of something right.

We have become infatuated with success.
If one wishes to become a successful minister,
it is preferable to have a great dues-paying congregation
of hypocrites than a small group that has preserved its integrity.
If one wishes to become a successful minister,
then a new church is more important than a new believer.
If one wishes to become a successful minister,
one plugs for lecture engagements, writes magazine articles,
and gets a higher salary.

We have accepted the coca-cola concept of religion.
We produce an effervescent, scintillating, sparkling sermon,
attractively bottled in pseudo-psychological terminology,
pleasing to the consumer, even if it causes a few
spiritual hiccups, and available for all customers
at the fairly standard rate of the
weekly contribution.
Every Sunday on the pulpit:
the pause that refreshes.

After nineteen hundred and fifty years we have arrived
at the hydrogen bomb and the coca-cola concept of religion.

Suppose we were to admit my charge, we ministers here assembled
—for the sake of titillating our imaginations before
we settle down to the work of formulating plans,
and of passing resolutions, of carrying out
internal and external political strategies—
suppose we were to set for ourselves the task
of acting to break the trends?
What would we do?
What then?

Suppose we were to return to our pulpits, and with us
ministers throughout the land, and were to say to our congregations:
"We renounce success"
and then demand, as Jesus Christ demanded,
that the money-lenders leave our temples—
and name the names;
suppose we could forget the strategies of getting along with
the congregations, of placating the pillars of the church,
of providing spectator recreation each weekend,
and invited those who did not wish to worship to leave;
Who would leave and who would stay,
and who would then begin to come?
Jesus Christ did not fear naming names.
In times long past even the duke of the city did penance
in his shirtsleeves on the bare steps of the cathedral.
Only the coca-cola salesman must feel assured that
all his customers are really good fellows and
name no names, or call one's sins
to one's face.
Have a sparkling sermon—or resolution—with that
always fresh flavor!

Or, better yet, leave our churches and go out among the people,
Leave our churches, so big, so imposing, so heavily insured
—such a burden, being a good enough salesman to get a
decent return on the investment.
Jesus Christ walked among the people and spoke the words
of peace and brotherhood to any who would listen.
Suppose we did that.
Just imagine it!
Tomorrow, thousands of ministers, leaving their churches,
their conferences, their lecture engagements, their studies,
their tasks of providing religious recreation,
their concerns of salaries and status—
and walking among their fellow men with the word of
peace and brotherhood.
Imagine thousands of us day after day
walking among our fellow men and talking to all who would listen
of the word of God and its meaning for the world today.
Who can estimate the consequences?
How many would listen and how many would turn aside,

and how many would listen who had never listened before?
Foolish, you say?
Is it any more foolish than to do again what we have done before
day after day and year after year
and failed to prevent one war,
one materialistic revolution,
one riot of ugly hate,
or one atom bomb?

Unrealistic, you say?
Is it any more unrealistic than to go through the same motions
that we have gone through again and again and again,
by which we have earned our daily bread—
but not our eternal salvation, we can be sure.

But it would not succeed, you say?
Good! Let it fail!
Are we succeeding now?
Will one more conference
and one more set of resolutions
and one more meeting with the big brass
succeed where all the other conferences, meetings, resolutions
have failed?
Are we not heading at break-neck speed into defeat?
Could we go down to defeat any faster
than by the hydrogen bomb?
And why this worry about defeat?
If there is the divine spark in man
his quest for God will not end with our poor failure.
And if one doubts the existence of the divine spark
then why not manufacture coca-cola?
It is much more lucrative than manufacturing religion
and there is more justification for worrying about success.

Let us not deceive ourselves further.
We are rushing downhill to defeat.
If there is some chance even yet of victory
for the brotherhood of man
in our time and our civilization,
it is not to be attained
by the old ways—
by the ways of men who did not possess the final weapon,
by the ways of the big brass making policy
—or the coca-cola salesman and his effervescent product,
willing to say anything that needs to be said
in any way
to close the deal, not to lose the sale.
If there is a chance for this generation
it lies with those who will meet the absolute weapon
with an absolute ethic.
And if there is no chance, at least

let us go down to defeat on our own terms.
There is some Christian dignity in that.
Yet I suppose we dare not.
If we go, as we seem to be going, into defeat
we shall be doubly defeated
by being made to look very much like those
who eventually will destroy us
by all our efforts to meet them on their ground
instead of ours. I suppose we dare not.

Yet I cannot help but wonder, if we dared—

I cannot lose that vision of thousands of ministers
declaring the words of God in certain and precise terms,
naming names, analyzing the classic generalities
down into the concrete behavior of every man in the congregation
—of thousands of ministers walking among their fellow men
and talking with all as brother and man of God
—day after day all over America.

What if we really did it?
What if we dropped our conferences and our high-level politics
and our big time lectures and our capital investments
and went out among the people as brothers and men of God—
Might we find the divine spark in our own time?
Might we uncover the hidden longing
for brotherhood
for peace
for God?
Might we find followers,
hundreds, then thousands, our brothers and fellow men?

What if we touched the chord that set the chorus?
What if we uttered the word that started the prayer?
All the longing of the people
whom we have left behind,
all the hope of men
who yet may seek,
all the profound yearning
of the children of God—
waiting to be set in motion.

The spark
The spark
The divine spark.
What if we dared?

Could we

Dear God

—O brethren
let us pray

Chambers, God, and the Communists—II

By A. J. MUSTE

This is the second, and concluding, part of A. J. Muste's "full-dress review" of Whittaker Chambers' book Witness. *The first part appeared in the July issue of* FELLOWSHIP.

AT ONE POINT in his narrative Chambers observes: "The world's instinctive sympathy was for the engaging man who meant to destroy it, was for Alger Hiss. . . . It was he, and not I, that that world felt that it 'understood'." He adds: "God is against me." Just before this he is telling about the days when he sat in a room in the Federal Building in New York adjoining the one in which the Federal Grand Jury was meeting and discussing the case. It appeared to be touch and go whether Hiss or Chambers would be indicted for perjury. Of those days Chambers says: "I wondered sometimes that no friend of the many I claimed ever penetrated to me. I wondered even more that in the whole nation, no priest, no minister, no fellow Quaker, grasped what I was trying to do and came to say: 'I do not want to ask or tell you anything. I simply wish to be with you.' From the outer world no one came."

Feeling as intensely as he does, Chambers exaggerates. By no means everybody sympathized, instinctively or otherwise, with Alger Hiss. There were plenty who were crying for his head. There were also some to whom Chambers was a great patriot, if not a hero. Yet there certainly were great numbers of people, who are no more Communists than Joe McCarthy, who felt a great deal of sympathy with Alger Hiss and who left Whittaker Chambers sitting alone as if he were a leper. And there still are many such people, I think.

Chambers has two chief explanations for this phenomenon. One is that many of these people were Communists or Communist sympathizers, or at any rate New Dealers. They were emotionally, politically, ideologically, identified with Alger Hiss.

Listen to Chambers' description of the more vocal Hiss sympathizers: "A whole generation felt itself on trial. . . . From their roosts in the great cities, and certain collegiate eyries, the left-wing intellectuals of almost every feather (and that was most of the vocal intellectuals in the country) swooped and hovered in flocks like fluttered seafowl—puffins, skimmers, skuas and boobies—and gave vent to hoarse cries and defilements. I had also accused a 'certified gentleman' and the 'conspiracy of the gentlemen' closed its retaliatory ranks against me. Hence that musk of snobbism that lay rank and dis-

crepant over the pro-Hiss faction."

Those who are troubled by this outburst of hurt feelings, anger and contempt (and I think these terms do accurately characterize the passage I have quoted) need to remember that Chambers had immense provocation. But the words Chambers uses of people who were in the "Hiss camp" and indeed of a good many who really were not but who did not accept Chambers, are not words of love and understanding. There is no compassion in them.

Contempt is answered by contempt. There is here, I feel, no effort at objectivity. The people at whom he strikes back so wildly are the people who are saying and doing what he had said and done only a few years earlier. And though it is true that he has not tried in this book to paint a glowing picture of himself, a temptation to which humans generally yield, I do not sense that at such a crucial point as this, he feels the contempt for himself and what he had done that he expresses about his former associates. The deep, unmistakable note of repentance and compassion seems to be lacking. Consequently I, who for years have differed radically with New Dealers, left intellectuals, most liberals and the Communists, and who believe that the evidence indicates that Alger Hiss lied and Whittaker Chambers told the truth and that very likely Hiss was at least for a time a Stalinist, find myself unable to accept the role that Chambers is playing as a man in his human relationships, just as in the earlier part of this article I had to reject his political role and program. Pondering over these things, I am left—paradoxically—with the feeling that Hiss, who in my opinion lied, may be more truthful than Chambers, who in my opinion told the truth. Perhaps a more exact approximation to what I am feeling after is that I sense in Hiss an ultimate innocence or naturalness or human sensitivity or warmth that I do not sense in Chambers. Perhaps this means that Alger Hiss is more reconciled to living with himself than Chambers is. One prays that in saying such a thing one is not doing a grave injustice to a man who has suffered terribly, in many ways, over a long period of time.

"Informer"

The second chief explanation Chambers advances for the fact that a good many people feel sympathy toward Hiss and a sort of revulsion against Chambers is that he, Chambers, turned informer. About this he has some profound and stirring things to say. Men shrink from the word "informer" and what it stands for "as from something lurking and poisonous." The informer "sits in security and uses his special knowledge to destroy others." He becomes the creature of the police. They choose whether and how they will use him. "To that extent . . . the informer is a slave. He is no longer a man."

Chambers is nevertheless convinced that he had to turn informer. "No man simply deserts *from* the Communist Party. He deserts *against* communism as an evil." The one specific contribution the ex-Communist has to make in the necessary war for God and against atheism and communism is "his special knowledge of the enemy." Therefore, the ex-Communist turns informer "despite the sound human and moral reasons that may

also paralyze him—his reluctance to harm old friends, his horror at using their one-time trust to destroy them—reasons which are honorable and valid."

Denunciations

I do not myself believe that it is possible to resolve such a situation by taking the position that one who has engaged in conspiratorial activities should never expose those with whom he has worked. I would underline the adjective "conspiratorial" here, because the case of denouncing people with whom one may have worked in a political or "front" organization seems to me a very different thing. Current hysteria, which puts a stigma on people because they may once have engaged in unorthodox or even nefarious political activities, depriving them of their jobs, creating an atmosphere of fear in which dissent becomes dangerous and all but impossible, is an extreme peril to a democratic society, and smacks of thought control and the police state. I surmise that Chambers may not draw this distinction carefully. At any rate, one of the great weaknesses in his position is that he does not warn against or strive to combat the evils just mentioned. Politically, he seems to be unequivocally on the side of the FBI, the Un-American Activities Committee and the rest.

If, however, one has been privy to the theft of atomic or other such secrets or to espionage in connection with a government's foreign service, and silence involves de facto continued complicity, it seems to me that no matter how repulsive the role of informer is, such silence might be immoral as well as criminal.

Chambers, nevertheless, gives the impression of not having found peace or a sense of essential rightness in his role. I say this in spite of the fact that sometimes he speaks of having found peace. He impresses me as a man who has been terribly tormented most of his life and often oppressed with a sense of futility and who is still a tortured soul.

A nerve "was torn," he writes, "whenever the problem of informing arose, and it had now become the central problem of my days." He is convinced that God has called him as the Witness; but he is aware that in his case the Lord will *not* "give grace and glory," aware that in destroying Hiss he is also destroying himself. "I knew that if I were compelled to testify against Hiss and the others, if I who wished harm to no one were driven by necessity to bring ruin upon so many lives, then, afterwards, I would never again really be able to live myself."

There was a moment shortly before the Grand Jury hearings were climaxed by the return of an indictment for perjury against Hiss, rather than against Chambers himself, when the latter actually attempted suicide. The suicide motif crops up repeatedly in the book. He frankly states that his motivation at the time was mixed. This frankness about the contradictions in his soul, the refusal to draw a unified and attractive picture of himself, seems to me one of the strong evidences of his effort to tell the truth. He says he "was whipped to torment under the mounting sense of the futility of everything that I had done" and cites "the inability of the nation to understand the Case, the official animus against me"—and is himself very clearly not free from animus. But the other

feeling that tormented him was "an organic revulsion that I should have had to denounce those men and women, none of whom, as human beings, I would ever have raised a hand to injure." In a passage that is almost blasphemous and certainly has an element of theatricality about it, and yet also testifies to a sensitive, tortured soul thirsting for justification and redemption, he speculates: "Was it God's purpose that I should live . . . and *bear a witness to the end that those infidels might be destroyed completely?* . . . Or was it God's purpose that, having borne my witness against the conpsiracy, I should *bear a higher witness, by sparing all whom I had implicated or might implicate, in the only way left to me*—by destroying myself? . . . Should a man accept damnation in the full consciousness that he was destroying himself eternally as the ransom of those with whom he had shared a common evil, and whom nothing less than such an act could reclaim?"

Not Higher Ground

Without being clearly conscious of what he was doing, Chambers has in this remarkable passage put his finger on the cause of his own continued inner turmoil and conflict and of the reluctance of other people to take him to their bosoms. He is saying that what "those with whom he had shared a common evil" needed was to be reclaimed—quite simply, to have their souls saved. He is also saying, in effect, that if he were to help them to save their souls, he would by God's grace have to rise to a higher spiritual level than they. He would have to stand on some firm moral ground in order to reach out a hand to them. This would have required, for one thing—and so far as I can gather from the book, this never seems to have dawned on Chambers—that in the time between his break with communism in 1938 and the exposures which came nearly ten years later, he should have made a clean breast before the world of what he himself had been. For a man to help redeem those who have been involved in evil with him he has to accept suffering for himself, to lay himself open to the consequences of self-exposure, and to cleanse himself of all contempt and hate for his former comrades.

Into Hiding

Chambers did not pursue this course. When he broke with the Communist "underground," he believed that his life was in danger, and went into hiding, taking elaborate precautions to guard his life. An ordinary person cannot be blamed for not wanting to lose his life, but Chambers in effect asks not to be judged as an ordinary person. He claims to be a Witness, with a capital W. The fact is that when he first made his break he was not a Witness. He was a man who, by his own description, was engaged in pretty feverish efforts to safeguard his life, and he was not exposing and incriminating himself.

It is apparently true that in a year and a half or so, in 1939, he went to A. A. Berle with information about pro-Soviet activities of Alger Hiss and others, and to some of those in authority in the Luce organization, where he later worked as an editor of *Time*, he made it known that he had been a Communist. But when he began to

testify against former associates such as Alger Hiss, he was in their eyes a renegade who had managed to do very well by himself for nearly a decade, and who had covered up his past from most men.

A Contradiction

It is implied in Chambers' narrative that one of the important reasons why he did not press the exposure of the alleged conspiracy of which he had been a part was his emotional and moral revulsion against becoming an informer against former friends. I have taken the view that there is an element of psychological truth in this contention of his. But if this constituted a justification for his inaction during the crucial years of the war and immediate postwar period when presumably a great deal of mischief was being done, the question legitimately arises why he "had" to turn informer when he did. It is possible that Chambers would argue that in the terrifying days in 1938 when he made his break he had not achieved the moral development and stature to perform the role of Witness, to come out openly before the world to expose the evil of communism, including the evil in his own Communist past. A man certainly has the right to grow. But he cannot at the same time make a virtue out of this failure. He ought to realize more truly that in 1947-48 his *position* before the world and in the eyes of his former friends was weak and unclear because by his own admission he had been immature and unclear in the years since 1938. Furthermore, the impression he gives is that from the beginning his break with communism was motivated by a deep revulsion against its duplicity, inhumanity and godlessness. In other words the responsibility to be a Witness against it was upon him from that moment. Why was the Witness both silent and secretive for so long?

It may be that Chambers would argue that his life would have been forfeit if he had spoken out openly in 1938. However, a Witness who is considerably preoccupied with shielding his own life is not impressive.

In the Wilderness

The other argument he may possibly advance is that if in 1938-39 he had launched his crusade against the Communist monster by laying bare his break with this evil, no one would have paid any attention to him. Since when did prophets refrain from crying because there was only a wilderness in which to cry?

If at a fairly early date after his own break with communism Chambers had taken a public stand against what he regarded as so diabolical and pervasive an evil and had in effect incriminated himself, would he then have had to inform on others? There are several possibilities. One is that an essentially religious conversion which would have sent him as a fearless Witness and missioner to the men with whom he had associated would have made enough of an impression on key people to have removed any serious threat to the public safety or national interest from the group with which Chambers had been in contact and so obviated the need "to go to the police station."

Another possibility is that, although no conversion occurred

among key members of this particular group, a moral crusade against communism by a man with Chambers' background and ability might have produced political and social effects, especially among young people, which would have outweighed the advantage that might accrue from informing on former associates.

Finally, it is possible that Chambers might still have believed that he must inform the authorities about the activities of some of his associates. In that case the action performed by one who was first of all incriminating himself and thus truly acting in disregard of consequences—as a *Witness*—would have had a very different quality from that which marked the course that Chambers actually took.

We come back always and ultimately to the fact that a prophet, a Witness, cannot wear a mask. He must unmask himself, lay himself bare. Whittaker Chambers did wear a mask for a long time and in the final analysis he was unmasked by others and by events, though also partly by himself. This last in part redeems him and it imparts poignancy to his book. But, in view of other factors, it was not enough to make him an instrument, such as I think he honestly and intensely longs to be, for saving those who were once involved in evil with him.

My analysis of the political aspect of Chambers' life and role reached the conclusion that Chambers had not essentially attained a higher political level than communism, but had simply moved over into the anti-Communist camp and army. Now my attempt at psychological analysis leads clearly to the conclusion that Chambers was and is unable to fulfil the function of Witness and to help reclaim Communists, including his former associates, because he has not attained that secure moral ground to stand on from which he might stretch out a healing hand. He is essentially a conspirer against their conspiracy, and it is as a hostile conspirator, a member of the enemy "underground," that they regard him. Chambers gives them explicit reason for so regarding him. He writes that *communism "has set the pattern of warfare it wages and that defines the pattern of the warfare its deserters must wage against it.* It cannot be otherwise."

A "Fighting Quaker"

Whittaker Chambers still feels that men and forces are fighting against him, and he is fighting back. In a way the whole situation and problem is perhaps summed up in the fact that he is a Quaker, but a fighting, military Quaker. Is it a curiosity of history, or does it have some deeper meaning that three of the very prominent figures in the Case, Chambers, Hiss and Congressman (now Senator) Nixon of the Committee on Un-American Activities belong to this tribe of "fighting" Quakers? However that may be, I think it is possible for a man like Nixon, born and reared a Quaker, to be basically sincere and psychologically integrated, though rejecting the "peace testimony" of the Society for himself. But I surmise that one would have to search long for a "fighting" man who now enters the Society of Friends, as Whittaker Chambers has, and explicitly rejects its "peace testimony," who does not bear a deep contradiction within his soul.

As for his book, finally, it is a very important document for the

political and spiritual history of our time. It is an autobiography of high rank. But I think those who mention Augustine, Dostoievsky, and George Fox in this context, as some reviewers have, indulge in exaggeration. This will not become one of *the* great books of the ages because Chambers has not introduced an original and creative religious, philosophical or political concept. Nor is he a man who remotely approximates the spiritual stature of these men. He is not a Witness, as each of them was—at any rate not yet.

His warfare, within and without, is not yet accomplished. Were it not for what appears to be a deep and exquisitely lovely family life—and this factor must not be minimized in evaluating Chambers—one surmises that he might yet "seek to die." It is also possible he may become essentially an FBI or Intelligence Service functionary. One can conceive of him turning to the Roman Church for absolution, for direction, and for the clear command to obey and stop asking questions—for "the discipline," to use a phrase of his own in the next to the last page of his book, which must now "take the place of energy."

One other possibility remains, that he may become a Quaker who can no longer wear his sword—that sword which he has carried so long against himself, his fellows, his destiny—and who will put it up into its place. He will then be "covered with a living silence" as he reads the words of James Nayler, another Quaker who suffered beyond measure and who had experience of tempests raging in his heart: "There is a spirit which I feel that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong. . . . Its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty. . . . It sees to the end of all temptations. . . . Its crown is meekness, its life is everlasting love unfeigned; and takes its kingdom with entreaty and not with contention. . . . I have fellowship therein with those who lived in dens and desolate places of the earth, who through death obtained this resurrection, and eternal holy life." God grant that Whittaker Chambers and Alger Hiss—enter into this experience. It is possible that the former would then write another book, of which it might with even greater truth be said: "Only God knows enough to review this book."

Dirge to Be Sung After Any War

Computations miscarry: the rigid slate
is cracked at last, becomes a dirty plate;
hungry dividing lines appear once more,
the easy two plus two of war makes fear,
and fear plus fear again will equal hate.

—Scott Bates

**Are they nudists? Crackpots?
or a generally sober and religious sect**

Those Doukhobors

By RUTH LARSON*

THANKS TO THE RADIO and the papers, most people no doubt think that there is located somewhere in Canada a nudist colony with the funny name of Doukhobor. The reports could have caught more than a moment of passing interest had they added that the Doukhobors were from Russia and practiced active communism.

The truth about the Doukhobors' communism is that it came about through evolution rather than revolution and dissenters from the system are loved for what Doukhobor qualities they do possess and allowed to live as independently as they please. It is not a theoretical state into which all must be forced before anyone can be "secure," but the product of an inner security shared by a group of people—an active faith in a living God who did not stop making Himself known to men when the last word in the Bible was written.

Doukhoborism began with a revolt against the ikon worship and ritualism of the Russian Orthodox Church from which the founding fathers broke away over two centuries ago. It was not until Alexander I freed the Doukhobors from persecution by royal decree and allowed them to settle in the Milky Waters area of the province of Tavria that they experimented with a communal form of living and found it so practical and successful that it became a fundamental life-conception of the group.

Continuing the articles on the intentional community begun in April of this year, FELLOWSHIP *in this issue brings you the story of the Doukhobors. Migrants from Russia as a result of intolerable persecutions in their native land, Doukhobor names still run to Maloff, Popoff and Schevensky.*

Like all living based on unpopular truths, theirs soon proved too much of a threat to the rigid, established order, and under pressure from the Orthodox Church the government exiled the Doukhobors to the Caucasus Mountains in southern Russia. Here, again, they flourished, but the Tsarist regime brought such unbearable persecution that they finally migrated to Canada.

Life in Canada presented new problems while it solved the old one of persecution for refusal to participate in military service. The Canadian Order-in-Council at the time of the Doukhobors' migration passed legislation which guaranteed their unconditional exemption from military service, and in spite

* The author wishes to extend thanks and acknowledgment to Eli A. Popoff, former editor of the Doukhobor bulletin *Iskra*, whose articles and letters furnished most of the facts in this article.

of the inevitable crises and tragedies of a wholesale exodus, the Doukhobors remained for the most part an integrated, economically independent group known as "The Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood" until after 1929. Then it was hard hit by the depression and its holdings eventually taken over by the government, which now plans to divide up all the land and sell it back to the Doukhobors individually.

Some in Prison

While the Federal Government has been quite faithful in keeping its promises to the Doukhobors, certain authority granted the separate Canadian provinces regarding military service caused a little trouble for them during World War I and more during World War II, when pressure of one sort or another was brought to bear in several provinces. In Saskatchewan and Alberta the Doukhobors were forced to choose between alternate service (such as road construction) or a four- to nine-month jail sentence. About ninety young men chose jail, while around seventy chose to work. In British Columbia none chose alternate service and, aside from some few arrests, retained their promised status. The latter province made an unsuccessful attempt near the war's end to tax every eligible young man $5 per month for the Red Cross.

There are perhaps 20,000 Doukhobors now in Canada, the total of a number of groups of which the largest numbers around 5,000. Their life is still primarily communal, although they work individually, and each group has a local Executive Committee, with a Central Executive Committee in the Union of Doukhobors of Canada, which makes its headquarters at Blaine Lake, Saskatchewan.

The human vessel being of such frailty as it is, it would be surprising if the years of suffering, torture and persecution had not left some scars beyond healing among the Doukhobors. So it is that there are the Sons of Freedom, an unorganized band of some 2,000 zealots whose chief error is that, like those who have used force on them, they would choose for others rather than choose just for themselves. Their acts of violence and defiance provide the Doukhobor name with a notoriety that travels farther and faster than the quiet goodness of the other 18,000. Although an increasingly friendly attitude has broken down most of the barriers of suspicion and distrust between the Doukhobors and their non-Doukhobor neighbors, and various interested groups are endeavoring to find non-forceful means for rehabilitating the Sons of Freedom, a newscaster's reference to some nude parade or other antic of the zealots will be taken by the unenlightened as a custom of the Doukhobors in general, while the basic aspects of their communities remain unknown.

Since the early Christians' try at communal living, various groups in various places have experimented with it in one form or another. Most of the experiments have begun in high idealism and ended shortly from some inherent lack of cohesion. What was it in the Doukhobors' experiment that brought satisfactory results?

Certainly they have had their ups and downs and growing pains. There were disagreements and the resultant falling out of some members. There was the time from the

beginning up until quite recently when they were very dependent on leadership so that when the leaders were good they flourished, but when the leaders were not so good neither was the group. There were the beliefs which proved too limited or dogmatic and had to be cast aside. Much of the traditional teaching is in the form of specific admonitions very much in the style of the Book of Proverbs.

Yet, through all this was maintained an attitude of openness to truth and a willingness to change in accordance with new insights, while, at the same time, there was no discarding of the basic concepts that made such a course possible. Nothing less than a God-centered group could keep such a delicate balance of affairs.

Since they believe God did not speak his final word to man in the Bible, the Doukhobors have compiled for themselves what they call "The Book of Life" which, freely interpolated with Biblical passages, is a record of their own insights and exhortations beginning with the unwritten Doukhobor psalms, which were passed from one generation to the next and required highly skilled and dedicated singers for their rendition.

At the beginning there was the worship of God through Jesus as the "One and only Jesus Christ, Son of the All-Wise Creator of all," but as they came to experience God more directly for themselves they came to think of Jesus as "truly a Teacher sanctioned by God" who "opened the door to Truth and gave us the privilege to freely progress further."

For the Doukhobors, hell is the here and now state of those who have not grasped the spirit of truth, and among the most tortured dwellers therein are the worshippers of materialism. "He who bows down to inanimate, soulless objects, shall become soulless himself." One leader points out that "slavery to the dollar and unscrupulous struggle for personal gain" in following the principle of "Private Enterprise" were leading to "the present world chaos and the inevitable fall of the capitalist world structure." "Sons of the free spirit of Christ cannot be slaves of that which is corruptible."

Man and God

Included in "that which is corruptible" is man, and any worship of man's person or power is held to be so irreconcilable with God-centered principles that the religious caste-systems are abhorrent while the political power-systems are so impossible that no Doukhobor has ever entered into one nor voted in any election. They feel, "thereby, free from any responsibility before God or man for the acts of any government established by men... they not only gave their votes but their bodies, blood, and souls to the One and Unreplaceable."

Paradoxically, the Spirit which dwells within man is of such value to them that "the welfare of all the world is not worth the life of one child." This conception of the sacredness of all life was reached by the group as a whole only gradually and it was not until 1895 (though still in Russia) that, after purifying their personal lives of all that might make for violence and killing, they made a mass refusal to do military, or any alternative, service and staged a Burning of Arms. "In their beliefs, members of the community allow the fullest freedom to everything in existence, including man. Every organization

held together by violence or compulsion we consider to be unlawful."

"God Is Love"

What apparently holds the Doukhobors together is the love of God and man translated into "reason," "good deeds," "love of toil," and "peaceful life." "Love is of God, and he who loves is truly reborn of God and knows Him. He that loves not, knows not God, for God is love." "Members of the community understand the word God to mean the power of Love, the power of Life (Life-force) which gave the beginning to everything in existence."

Though not accepting certain forms and structures created by men, the Doukhobors accept all men as people, and strive for mutual understanding with them on that basis. "Doukhobor cooperation and friendliness is aimed at as close as possible contact with People; not as party members or followers of special ideologies or religious trends but as individual replicas of the image of God, and as possessors of a part of God's Spirit, the seed of which is inherent in every human soul." "No matter what religious beliefs these church followers held, they were still People among whom we lived, and our brotherly association with them in the spirit of love will eventually be for our mutual good."

Reason, they say, is a very necessary element in putting belief into practical, everyday use, and education rightly used is for the purpose of broadening the reasoning power. "The Doukhobors do not have any immovable or untouchable dogmas that would tend to keep them in outmoded or backward stages of thinking. If the Doukhobors become convinced that a particular line of reasoning, of which they were thus far ignorant, is in unison and consistent with everlasting Truth, then such line of reasoning, after trying it out as to its effects in actual practice and experience, becomes accepted as bona-fide Doukhobor outlook without prejudice as to where said outlook originated, or who of other organizations or religious denominations hold similar outlooks." For "Doukhoborism does not insist that it alone has the whole conception of all Truth; at the same time it does not say that no other group, party, religion, or nation individually has any justification to insist that they have all of the Truth in their outlooks. Doukhobors believe that everything that has so far been discovered and invented that is of service and benefit to mankind, in all its aggregate, that is, in some part from each and every movement, group and nation, all taken together comprises the total of all the Truth that is known today." Some of their outlooks were probably influenced by Tolstoy who became very interested in the group, carried on a correspondence with its leader, tried to relieve its persecution and proved himself literally a friend in need in aiding its migration to Canada.

God's Instrument

The Doukhobor emphasis on good deeds stems from the belief that God works through man, and only as man makes himself available to act for God can the power of God manifest itself in him. "That is, if anything noble, beneficial, just, useful is to be brought into being on earth, then it has to be brought into being by none other than man himself."

Similarly, their love of toil comes from a feeling of partnership with God and his handiwork, the earth. Every aspect of life is to them sacred so that they have such reverence for nature as will not permit exploitation of her processes or gifts.

Of the two concepts which make for their peaceful life, communism and pacifism, the Doukhobors hold communism as mutable. "Chistiakov [a Doukhobor leader] . . . did not deride the independent Doukhobors for the way they chose to live. He always insisted that it was not right to try and wear a garment that was not one's size. That is, he did not think it right to force oneself to live communally if one's spiritual growth did not prompt him to do so." But that every man has the right of choice has become an inviolable principle for them. "The time is not far distant when pacifists shall firmly have to take the offensive. That is, they will have to throw down a challenge to such as would still have the obstinacy of advocating it (violence), demanding sane reasons as to their stand and for an explanation on 'What logical grounds are there for upholding violence?' "

Attitude Toward Life

It must be emphasized again, however, that neither of these concepts was the cause, but came as a result of a certain attitude toward life. Just how important this is can be seen by the fact that a system that tries to secure the results without acknowledging the causes produces a power-centered, dehumanizing socialism, while claiming the cause without translating it into practical results reduces democracy to a self-centered, self-righteous capitalism.

It may come as a surprise to most Americans, but at the same time the Doukhobors were first recording their life-conceptions in Russia, a group of men in America were drawing up a God-centered document that contained the same non-rigid principles that not only allow, but promote, growth and continual re-evaluation in the light of new growth. Its name: The Declaration of Independence.

More Than Bread

I do not want to live here.
The water is good, and the soil grows corn.
The people like each other.

I do not want to live here.
The land slopes right,
and the sun likes it here.
There is incredible white snow in winter.

But every day a native of the world falls down.
Many are hurt in the mills and in the fields.
Some day everyone here will be blind.
I do not want to just live here.

—WILLIAM STAFFORD

News from the Peace Front

Muste Testifies Against Rearmament

A. J. Muste, National Secretary of the FOR, testified on June 17 before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which was considering ratification of the Convention on Relations with the Federal Republic of Germany and the Protocol of the North Atlantic Treaty. Mr. Muste said that "in terms of political realism this policy means the division of Germany into two parts, the rearming of the Western part by the United States and the Eastern part by Russia." He pointed out that if this happened it would create another frontier like Korea which would have to be maintained at great expense in manpower and money, and would lead to war.

The Russian proposal for a "neutralized" and armed Germany he termed equally a war and not a peace measure. Mr. Muste proposed that Germany should be united and neutralized, but should remain completely disarmed, and that at least for a time it should be under United Nations administration so that inspection could be guaranteed to guard against secret rearmament. The trouble with this proposal, he pointed out, was that if both Russia and the United States were prepared to accept it, they would also be prepared for a global peace settlement, whereas neither is willing to forego dependence on huge military establishments.

The way out of the dilemma, Mr. Muste declared, is not a cheap or easy one. "It is sometimes spoken of as the Christian way. It does not proceed on the assumption that the enemy is a good fellow and a little sensible negotiation will settle everything. Neither does it proceed on the basis of self-righteousness. It proceeds on the assumption that there is evil to be overcome; and it cannot be overcome by evil, but only by good—a very great, imaginative, costly good."

COs Get Maximum Sentence

Two COs, Edward D. Reed and Jack Parkhurst of San Francisco, received the maximum penalty for refusal to submit to induction when Judge Edward P. Murphy in June gave them each a sentence of five years in jail and $10,000 fine. Reed and Parkhurst are student ministers with Christ's Church of the Golden Rule in San Francisco, and refused induction last February on the grounds that they should have received ministerial exemption. The Church was organized in 1944 by a group of individuals who pooled their financial resources and later incorporated as a religious, non-profit corporation. Several individuals in the group have registered as COs, although this is not a requirement of membership in their church.

Selective Service held that students at the school for ministers operated by the Church of the Golden Rule are not "satisfactorily pursuing full-time courses of instruction" as required by law. Their projects combine academic training and manual labor, which

is regarded by the church as "the laboratory part of their training." "To us the whole purpose of our training," said one church official, "is to learn to apply the Golden Rule to the problems that confront us in everyday tasks."

Packer Sentenced, Keen Released

Lester Packer received a sentence of four years in prison in the court of Judge F. X. McGohey in New York City recently. Two previous five-year sentences in New York had been reduced to three, but the District Attorney's office again, in the Packer case, recommended a five-year sentence.

Robert D. Keen of Modesto, California, has had his resignation from the Navy Reserve Corps accepted as a result of his becoming a conscientious objector. During consideration of the case he was interviewed by a chaplain and a line officer, a captain, and some of the questions and answers went like this:

"A. . . . I am opposed to the sober, deliberate killing that occurs during war. I feel that such killing is immoral and unnecessary.

"Q. In the past we have had wars where we have had to fight to protect ourselves and our possessions. For example, the Indians.

"A. I happen to be an Indian.

"Q. Then you are probably prejudiced.

"A. I will admit that. . . .

"Q. Are you going to let others fight for you?

"A. I hope no one will feel it necessary to fight. There are better ways to settle arguments. I would like to abolish war."

CO Work Program Begun in July

The CO work program has begun, and some COs will probably have been drafted by the time this issue reaches readers. A CO may wait until his draft board gets to him, or may go to the board and sign an "application to volunteer." If the CO wishes to work with some specific church, secular or government agency, however, he should get in touch with that agency before volunteering, to find out whether he has the qualifications needed and would be accepted by it. COs who wish more details about employment opportunities or other related data can write to Referral Service, National Service Board for Religious Objectors, 1105 K Street N.W., Washington 5, D. C.

About 30,000 books and $7,000 were contributed by the American public to a "Books for Freedom" campaign run by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The books will be placed in the library of the University of Berlin, which is being rebuilt by finances from a Ford Foundation grant.

The Christian Rural Overseas Program (CROP) has sent a million pounds of food to needy persons in India since 1947. The monsoon rains there have failed for the fifth successive year, causing drastic reductions in crops and consequent starvation.

COs Win Exemption From AROTC

Pacifist students at Willamette University, a Methodist institution in Salem, Oregon, and leaders in the Oregon Methodist Conference, who opposed establishment there of an Air ROTC unit, have succeeded in procuring formal action by the trustees to provide procedures by which COs may receive exemption from service. Two FOR students were leaders in the campaign there in 1951 to prevent installation of the unit, which the trustees and president of the university favored. They carried the fight to the Oregon conference, which passed a resolution, by a narrow margin, requesting an "early termination" of the unit. Since it has been established, however, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to have it discontinued in the foreseeable future.

Exemption for COs was obtained partly as a result of the case of Lawrence Monk, an FOR student who submitted to military training only under protest and in an attempt to win exemption. The regulations as now promulgated will exempt men classified by their draft boards as COs, men under draft age who present certain rather elaborate documents, and pre-ministerial students.

Propose Peace Plank to Democrats

The Midwest Fellowship of Reconciliation, of which Albert Watson is the Secretary, proposed a peace plank to Democratic Party platform makers during their Chicago Convention. As a result of the policy of containment of communism, the Midwest statement said, "we are reaping the fruits of our own sowing of the seeds of fear and suspicion and militarism. The tragedy of our plight is that we have not understood the real nature of the world crisis.

"The price of peace," the document concludes, "is costly, and that is why there is no real peace in the world. Peace will mean the abolition of war, the achievement of genuine disarmament, a gigantic program of technological assistance and trade, and the non-violent approach to world problems. The price is indeed high, but it is not as high as the price of war."

Group to Oppose Military President

Following the nomination of General Eisenhower as Republican candidate, the Non-Partisan Committee Against a Military President was founded, with headquarters at Room 825, 119 Nassau Street, New York 38, New York. People interested in working with the Committee can get in touch with them there.

The Commitee feels that this issue offers an ideal opportunity for pacifists to reach the many Americans who are not pacifists but who strongly oppose a military man in the White House. In a letter to potential sponsors A. J. Muste, the Committee's secretary, said: "It seems valid and important to keep the issue of a military president before the people during the election campaign."

Confirm Passport Refusal to Carpenter

In July the State Department reaffirmed its refusal to issue a passport to Dr. J. Henry Carpenter, Executive Secretary of the Brooklyn Protestant Council and an FOR member, to go to Japan. Dr. Carpenter himself has still received no formal answer to his original passport application, but the widespread protests of liberal and religious groups have elicited several letters from Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley, head of the Passport Division. In answer to an inquiry from the Presbytery of Brooklyn-Nassau, she wrote: "Refusal of a passport to Dr. Carpenter should not be considered as a reflection on his loyalty and integrity or a determination of any fact other than that his presence in the Far East is considered undesirable at this time." She indicated that he might be allowed to make such a trip "after conditions in that area become more tranquil."

Three Jailed in Ohio Segregation Case

Three members of the Fellowship, of Peacemakers, and of the Cincinnati Committee on Human Relations were arrested on June 22 and jailed for attempting interracially to enter an amusement park. Wallace and Juanita Nelson and Marion Bromley went to Coney Island, near Cincinnati, and were refused admittance at the gate. When they refused to move their car out of the way, they were dragged from it by police and taken to jail.

Continued attempts to discuss the policy of segregation with managers of the park before this had met with no success. The policy is illegal, since Ohio has a state law that prohibits such segregation. The nonviolent direct action technique of appearing at the entrance interracially was the fourth such attempt.

Spontaneously, and without having discussed it together, all three refused to eat or to cooperate in any way with the authorities while in prison. Their hearing before a Justice of the Peace was held on July 1 and they were released on their own recognizance.

The case received considerable publicity in Cincinnati, and the CCHR is continuing its campaign at the Park, as well as picketing. Because of the publicity and many protests, it is possible the case of Marion Bromley and Wally and Juanita Nelson will never actually be brought up again.

Minister Ousted for Tax Refusal

The Rev. Richard H. Fichter of Springville, Pennsylvania, an FOR member who has refused to pay taxes on conscientious grounds for three years, was denied admission into the Wyoming Conference of the Methodist Church last May for that reason. Mr. Fichter has served six churches in that district, and each year informed them of his refusal to pay taxes, and each year they invited him back. At the annual conference in 1952 the Board of Ministerial Training recommended that he be received into full membership, but the recommendation was turned down at a closed session of the conference.

McCarran Act Will Not Bar COs

The McCarran Act, a revision of immigration and naturalization laws, will not bar most conscientious objectors from becoming citizens of this country, as had been feared. Passed in June over President Truman's veto and against the opposition of liberals, the bill had been amended somewhat from its original form, and now provides an oath that permits a pacifist to swear only to perform noncombatant duty in the armed forces or only to perform work of national importance under civilian direction. This is similar to the interpretation of previous naturalization statutes which has recently made it possible for pacifists to become citizens.

There is concern among pacifists, however, because the bill provides recognition only for those who reach their convictions on the basis of religious training and belief. The Act defines "religious training and belief" as meaning "an individual's belief in a relation to a supreme being, involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation, but does not include any essentially political, sociological, or philosophical belief or a merely personal moral code."

Seek Service Jobs for Young People Overseas

Doug Kelley of Lansing, Michigan, an FOR member who is connected with the International Development Placement Association, will leave in October with his new bride, Cynthia Gebauer, for India, where they will stay for a week with socialist trade unionists in Bombay, then go to Sevagram Gandhi's village, for six months. They will be working students in the rural improvement workers' training center there.

The International Development Placement Association was founded to try to find service opportunities in underdeveloped areas for young people from this country, and one of the reasons for this trip is to look for such possibilities. More than five hundred young people, including a number of FOR members, have already applied to IDPA for a chance to put in a year or more of hard work in behalf of democracy and human betterment.

To help raise money for their shoestring trip, the Kelleys are taking one dollar subscriptions to a monthly newsletter they will write from India. Doug Kelley's address is 1508 North Genesee Drive, Lansing 15, Michigan.

Congress Cuts Foreign Aid

Less than ten percent of the current overseas aid program voted by Congress before adjourning for the conventions is for economic aid. The rest is military. Of the economic aid, the appropriations this year were 18 percent below last year's, and the Point Four technical assistance program will suffer most from the cuts. Congress provided for a cut of five percent in its personnel, and the Point Four program consists largely of sending people abroad to give advice on various technical problems.

October 24 has been designated United Nations Day by the UN General Assembly.

Jottings

Ruth Reynolds, American pacifist who was imprisoned last fall in Puerto Rico on a charge of having planned to attempt to overthrow the government by violence, is out on bail pending appeal.

* * *

The annual conference of the Church of the Brethren in late June adopted a resolution opposing loyalty oaths which, the resolution said, "constitute a dangerous practice which is inimical to the preservation and propagation of our democratic ideals."

* * *

In a report adopted at its quadrennial session in late June, the all-Negro Central Jurisdictional Conference of the Methodist Church called its status one of "second-class citizenship" in the church.

* * *

Under the enlightened penal system of Italy a well-behaved prisoner may sometimes have a month's leave of absence, after which he returns to finish out his term. In Mexico, some prisoners work at the prison during the day and go home at night.

* * *

Dr. Donald Soper, minister of Kingsway Methodist Church in London and an FOR member, was elected by British Methodists to be president of next year's Methodist conference.

* * *

Forty percent of Israel's population—more than 500,000 people—are now served by local cooperatives.

The Youth Committee of the Southwest Area FOR, of which Glenn Smiley is Secretary, held a pacifist summer school, which included discussion groups, action projects and public forums, between July 8 and August 16.

* * *

Howard H. Brinton retired as Director of Pendle Hill as of August 31, 1952, a post he had held since 1936. Anna Cox Brinton, his wife, was co-director with him from 1936 to 1949, and both will now become Directors Emeritus.

* * *

At the solemn opening ceremonies of the Games of the 15th Olympiad, a young woman in flowing white robes slipped into the arena and ran to the speakers platform, where she began to make a speech but was immediately interrupted and led away. Later identified as Barbara Rotraut-Player, 23, a student from West Germany, she said she had intended to appeal for peace among the nations and people of the world, and felt the occasion of the international gathering of athletes presented a chance when her appeal might have its greatest impact.

* * *

The Third World Conference of Christian Youth will be held in Kottayam, Travancore, in South India, in December of 1952. About three hundred people from 56 countries will discuss their religion and what it demands of them in these times.

Letters

A Word of Gratitude

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

May I, as a personal and ideological friend of Royal W. France, thank FELLOWSHIP for the publication of his candid and fine article, "I Must Defend Them"? There was a time, not long since, which did not require such public declarations, when it was taken for granted that *all* American citizens were entitled, under our system, to the rights and privileges recognized by the Constitution, and when no lawyer hesitated or doubted his duty and right to defend, to the best of his powers, persons charged with crimes or misdemeanors. Yes, there was a time when, as a lawyer and associate of the late Clarence Darrow, I would have treated with silent contempt any American who was not prepared to fight for that basic principle of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence and constitutional science. Alas, the time is past.

As Mr. France says, our civil rights and liberties are assailed on all sides, and so-called Communists who believe in the inevitability of revolution experience difficulty in finding competent defenders. True, some bar associations have taken cognizance of the unhappy situation and have adopted resolutions favoring the right and ancient principles of law and justice, but the commercial press has seen fit to ignore or "bury" such liberal resolutions. Further, I have seen no editorials or communications in the daily and weekly journals of mass circulation urging legal and moral fairness toward accused "subversives." Such an attitude is believed to be unpopular, and might offend big advertisers and pseudo-patriots, legionnaires and organized reactionary "daughters" of dead revolutionists.

What is even more discreditable is the fact that many "liberals" are indifferent to the un-American and anti-American developments in question, and not a few take the position that the revolutionary Communists are not entitled to any of our civil liberties and fundamental rights because, forsooth, if they were in power they would abolish such rights and freedoms, and ruthlessly suppress all dissent and criticism!

This position seems plausible at first blush, but it is fallacious and illiberal. What this or that school or group would do under certain conditions, largely hypothetical, of course, is irrelevant to the issue—the legal and moral right under our present system to freedom of speech and publication, and to proper defense and due process. If we make exceptions, we ourselves are guilty of what we suppose and imagine the unpopular groups would do to us, hence we are neither consistent nor rational. We have no alternative to the Justice Holmes formula—"the clear and present danger." Only actual, not probable, subversion and criminality justify denial of the basic American freedoms. Not all Communists *are* conspirators in fact. Not all believe in violence and lawless force. Mere membership or association proves nothing criminal. To join *any* party is not necessarily to adopt *all* its official doctrines. Communism is not a criminal conspiracy; it is a legal world-movement, no matter how many extremists it may attract. Belief in revolution some time in the future is not advocacy of violent, criminal revolution here and now.

I am glad Mr. France is vindicating

freedom and the genuine ethics of the bar, and I wish him success in court and in his activities outside the courtroom. May his brave example be followed by younger men and women in the profession.

VICTOR S. YARROS
La Jolla, California

Letter from Nehru

Dear Mary Beth Cummins
Susan Kilian
Josephine Houssman

I was happy to receive your little note of July 18th, 1951, which Sir Benegal Rau, our Delegate to the United Nations, sent me. I was happier still to read that when you were having your banana, you thought of Indian children who were in want of food. Your gift is very welcome. Indeed it is more welcome than all the big gifts we have received. Thank you for it.

With my love and good wishes to you,

Yours,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
New Delhi, India

Rebuttal

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Gordon Shull, in his letter to FELLOWSHIP in regard to tax refusal, points out that the money pacifists may refuse to pay in taxes can be obtained by the government by measures that increase inflation; and he asks, "Can you reconcile this with the love of your fellow men?" My answer is "Yes."

The purpose of tax refusal is not primarily to decrease preparations for war, but to be true to our highest selves, and to bear witness to the truth as we see it. We are not altogether responsible for results, but we can have faith that, if we try our best to carry out God's will and love all men, somehow, somewhere, some good will result. So far, the punishment, if any, for civil disobedience in regard to taxes has not been great enough to have much influence on other people; but the principle is the same, I believe, as that which inspired the Christian martyrs, who refused to burn incense to the emperor and became "the seed of the Church." The distinction between paying a tax and refusing to pay it when we can't prevent the government from taking it with interest, may be a fine one; yet, in a small way, it is really bearing a testimony, and subjects one to the possibility of considerable punishment.

The plan of keeping one's income so low that he is not subject to tax has inherent value; but it seems to me that it does not so directly serve the purpose of bearing witness to the government of our love of the human family and our desire, so far as possible, not to cooperate in human slaughter.

MARY S. MCDOWELL
Brooklyn, New York

On Israel

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

John Swomley, in "War's Tinderbox—The Middle East," in the October issue of FELLOWSHIP gives an essentially grim and depressing picture of the Arab-Israel situation in the Near East. With much of his analysis I would agree. Having just returned from my third trip to the Near East in four years, this time visiting Egypt, Jordan, Israel, and Greece, I would like to share some of the hopeful and redeeming features at work, particularly in Israel. I would report the following:

a) In spite of a hard-pressed economy, a strictly regulated austere regime, insufficient and inadequate housing and a hundred other unsolved problems, Israel has brought freedom, dignity and hope to 750,000 Jews, the great bulk of whom were destitute and exploited people. Personalities by the thousands have been and are being redeemed. If anyone wishes to

have his faith in the creative power of love restored or strengthened, let him go to Israel and see the physical and spiritual transformations which love and care have worked on wild-eyed, frightened, and stunted children—victims of man's inhumanity. If God is love, God is in Israel.

b) Despite an uneasy armistice between Israel and the Arab states with the latter still refusing to recognize Israel by sitting down to negotiate outstanding issues, Israel is not dominated by militarism. There are, to my knowledge, no pacifists in Israel, but, on the other hand, there is little militarism for militarism's sake. The Army is not merely a group set aside to be trained and employed in the arts of destruction, it is also a constructive force. The members of the Army spend a large portion of their time doing agricultural work; they descend upon the Ma'abarot (transit work settlements for immigrants) and clean them up; they serve the new immigrants wherever possible. Moreover, the Israel Army is about the most democratic of which I am aware. There is not a categoric division between officers and men; pay is virtually the same; and there is little saluting.

c) While a small group, notably the Heruth, is interested in an expanded Israel to include Palestine up to the Jordan River and even Trans-Jordan as well, the great majority of Israelis are eager for peace. The only expansion they are concerned with is expansion into desert and swamp areas—conquering and redeeming lands which have not for centuries, and in some instances have never, brought forth fruit and grain to feed the mouths of the hungry. The people recognize that they are an intimate part of the Near East and that in order to exist they must win the friendship of the peoples of the surrounding states.

d) A great affection for and interest in the United Nations is to be found in Israel. There is a keen realization of the fact that the small nations of the world are but pawns in the event of a global conflict. Israel, like the other states of the Near East, would be destroyed, occupied, or spared, depending on the course of the war or the whim of the powers in whose orbit it would be. Thus, an earnest desire to help develop a strong United Nations—even a world government—exists in Israel.

e) The great hope for peace in the Near East lies in the speedy resettlement of the refugees—both Arab and Jewish—and the expansion of technical assistance and Point Four programs. Such projects will bring expanded employment opportunities, greater production of agricultural produce, and a gradual rising standard of living to the people in the region

Unconquerable

KAGAWA

By Emerson O. Bradshaw

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Preoccupation with such challenging and rewarding enterprises may well result in cooling off passions which, in turn, will make negotiations between the Arab states and Israel likely, and peace probable.

That the Arab states are now more willing to cooperate with the United Nations resettlement efforts is a most hopeful sign. Jordan is making progress with several refugee resettlement projects. The recently voted three-year $250,000,000 United Nations resettlement program, if successfully completed, should help create the climate in which peace can ultimately be secured.

KARL BAEHR
New York, New York

Letter from India

Dear Friends:

Whether the growth of no war movement is spectacular or slow for some time more I feel that there is no reason to doubt that it is going to be substantial, maybe that some major wars might yet intervene, but they will be further eye-openers in favor of pacifism—rather than *contra*. The rate of growth cannot be correctly predicted. Moral movements have their own rules of gathering momentum. I do not know if any mathematician has discovered any formula for it. These movements live precarious and scarcely noticed existence for a long time, and then suddenly advance at a surprising pace. So let not pacifists worry about the pace of advance, so long as they are making their sincere efforts. Success or failure belongs to God. For the same reason, the temptation to preserve the seed by going, so to say, "underground" should never be entertained by pacifists. We must have the faith that even if every pacifist or war-resister is mercilessly put to death in every country, the cause of peace will gain and be firmly established. Our faith must be that if not only Jesus or Gandhi but all their apostles and disciples had been killed with them, the cause for which they stood would not have died; because it was not for a selfish and temporal cause they worked, but for an altruistic and spiritual one. As such it does not depend upon its known votaries only.

K. G. MASHRUWALA

To a Tax Collector

Collector of Internal Revenue,
Des Moines, Iowa:

Men from your department with whom I have talked refuse to discuss the possibility that some laws should be disobeyed. Yet they collect money to finance the worst law violation in the history of this country—the war in Korea.

The Korean War is illegal, because Congress has not declared war as provided in Article I, Section 8 of the U. S. Constitution. The politicians confuse the issue by calling it "police action," but there is nothing in the Constitution to make that legal either. Neither did the UN tell the U.S. to send troops to Korea, for the UN sanction came afterwards.

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Your tax gatherers, unconcerned that billions of the money they collect is used to illegally decorate landscapes with bits of human bodies, become outraged over my refusal to pay income taxes. It is a peculiar morality that applauds illegal murders by the tens of thousands and condemns a man who doesn't support it.

You will not find enclosed a check in payment of income taxes.

WALTER GORMLY
Mt. Vernon, Iowa

Queries

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Pacifists are constantly asked semi-logical questions such as "What would you do if a blank raped your mother-in-law?" The question is asked with either a manner intended to be profound or a manner which is excitable. The pacifist usually answers with long discussions on the nature of police powers and the relationships of persons in a society and so forth. But I am tired of semi-logical questions. I suggest pacifists develop their own brand of semi-logicals to use on draft boards and similars. To start the ball rolling I propose the following:

"If you could gain a lot of money by pushing a button that would release a ray that would kill a peasant in India who will probably die at the age of thirty, and no one would know you did it, would you do it?"

I am sure there are others. Perhaps FELLOWSHIP can publish more.

RICHARD LAZARUS
New York City

KEPLER *(Continued from page 4)*

individualistic nature which makes the formation of cohesive pacifist groups extremely difficult, and 2) the great burden placed on French pacifists by a military conscription system that gives no recognition to conscience, and therefore places any young man who refuses military service outside the law for a period up to thirty years. Obviously not many young Frenchmen have become conscientious objectors under these circumstances.

If I must venture a suggestion of what can be done by pacifists, I submit that American pacifists are in a better position to help the French than the French are to help themselves at the present moment. French pacifists need closer contacts with pacifist organizations in the U. S. They need financial aid for their efforts at education and organization. In short, they need what all pacifist groups need, but they need it more.

Beyond this, American pacifists can do little to aid the French directly. Let us not forget that American opinion and policies directly affect opinion and policy in France. Our task is no different but the responsibility even greater, for American pacifism is in a particularly strategic position and must never cease in its efforts to transform the American role in the world—to eliminate the menace of America and to fulfil its promise.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 905 Creston Road, Berkeley, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, 820 So. St. Andrews Place, Los Angeles, Cal.

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AIDEEN MACLENNON

By ROBERT E. WILSON

A new novel, to be published by Fellowship Publications on October this is one of the few books to come out of the experience of COs in t last war. This is the story of a young man who became a conscientic objector—the processes of thought and experience that led him to it, life in CPS and a mental hospital unit, and the orientation of his l in the postwar world.

Pacifists who have wondered why the expected flow of literature c of the CO experience did not materialize will want to read it. And it w make an ideal Christmas or birthday gift—a novel that is readable a fascinating and has a story that will introduce non-pacifists to some of t thinking that goes to make a pacifist.

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